

# THE WELSH IN DORSET

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*Some Observations at a Meeting, of The Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club, at Shaftesbury, July 31, 1879.—Reprinted from their Proceedings.*

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*With T. Kerslake's Compliments,  
Bristol, 1880.*

## ERRORS.

Page 8, line 15, for "from the year" read "to the year".

p. 11, " 13, " "erice" read "crice".

Others more obvious.





## The Welsh in Dorset.

By THOMAS KERSLAKE.

**T**HE prospect from where we stand is one of those that usually take rank under the description of being one of the finest in England; and it certainly is one of the most beautiful of its kind. Other considerable towns boast of such a view from some neighbouring hill, which must be climbed to see it; few towns are, like this of Shaftesbury, so highly favoured as that its townsmen should be able to step over their own thresholds, as we have now done, into such a glorious scene.

But to such a party as the present—the Antiquarian Field Club of the county of which we now actually see the largest part—the picture has an interest which, though not so obvious to the sight, probably rivals that which is more directly presented by the picture itself. Mr. Barnes, in his paper just read, has done me the honour to refer to an example, which I was once so fortunate as to realize, of a phenomenon in the past social condition of the people of this country, of which I think I can point out another example in the district now in our sight.

The case referred to was that of Exeter :\* within which city, we had been told by William of Malmesbury, that King Athelstan had found the Cornish Britons and the English settlers, living side by side, under "equal law." This had been interpreted, by Sir Francis Palgrave, Mr. Kemble, and other historians, as shewing that the river Exe, at the west of the city, had till then divided the two nations. But an examination of the still surviving dedications of the churches within that city made it evident that the Britons, having been pressed by their maritime invaders from the estuary, had maintained their hold upon the northern half of the city, which was divided by the Roman Foss-Way from the southern half held by the invading Saxons. In this case the distinctive Cornish dedications were St. Petrock, St. Kerian, St. Pancras, St. Paul (St. Pol de Leon, a Cornishman), and one of each of two duplicate Catholic dedications, St. Mary and Allhallows.

A hard and fast theory has almost reached the warmth of a furor, with the most learned of our historical writers of later years, that the present English nation is of purely Teutonic ancestry ; that "our ancestors," as they delight to distinguish the intruding German nations, "entered upon a land whose defenders had forsaken it" † : that, as some go so far as to say, the Celtic populations were "exterminated," leaving to their subjugators little or nothing more than "the means of reproducing at liberty on new ground the institutions under which they had lived at home." The same unqualified assertion is also frequently quoted,

\*Celt and Teuton in Exeter. *Archæological Journal (Institute)*, vol. xxx., 1874.

† Prof. Stubbs, *Engl. Const. History*. If the question upon which we are engaged had belonged only to the learned, such a declaration from so great an authority would have silenced our enquiry at starting. But, as we are all concerned with it, the appeal is open to us from things that are written to things that are.

as being that of another very learned and brilliant writer; and he seems at one time to have been inclined to maintain it entire. It is not fairly a matter of wonder that a writer whose habit must be a constant review of the raw material of history, over so many of its fields, from fresh points of sight, should sometimes start a newly-detected principle with an overstatement of it; or a broad announcement, unqualified by its exceptions. As the greyhound and the hare, so the eager pursuer of an unobserved principle in history must sometimes double back upon the truth which he has overrun. At any rate, upon this doctrine of the extermination of the Britons, the eminent writer is found to have either reserved, or later to have adopted, a very material qualification of it; at least in favour of Devon and a part of Somerset. †

But the misfortune of having disciples is that they are unable to afford a retreat; and their zeal is apt to make a firm stand upon the first-made assertion, and stoutly maintain its literal universality, and insist upon every detail. So with this about the extermination of the Britons. One writer says that "in Britain the priesthood and the people had been exterminated together."\* The same writer also calls it "a world which our fathers' sword swept utterly away." ‡ And the same assertion has been made the starting point of their new school of school histories. But compared with this startling assertion, the fabled catastrophe which a conflict, in the famous city of St. Canice, entailed upon its partisans would itself become almost credible; but that, unfortunately for the legend, both parties survive. Indeed, the city of Kilkenny presents at this day the very state of things which King Athelstan brought to an end at Exeter; for there, may be seen two nationalities, not only sharply divided, and commonly called "Irish-town" and "English-town," but so marked by lettering at the street corners; and a walk through the town can hardly fail to strike a stranger with other indications of the distinction. A

† Freeman's Hist. of Norman Conquest, 2nd Edn., i. 34, and in various places farther on in his work. Also in his paper read at Sherborne, 1874, on "King Ine," Somerset A. & N. H., Soc., vol. xx.

\* Rev. J. R. Green, Short Hist., p. 29

‡ Hist. Engl. People, i., p. 32.

similar state of things may also be seen at Galway, and other great towns in Ireland.

It is believed, indeed, that this theory; of the extermination of the Celtic peoples by the Teutonic invaders, or their almost entire replacement by expulsion, is, even in its more qualified form, very much beyond the truth: especially in the western half of the English speaking portion of the island: that at least the broad substratum of the rural population, and that of the non-commercial cities and towns, retain in blood, though not in speech, a very large Celtic constituent. Besides this, it is thought that it may be shown that there are scattered among them small, and perhaps frequent, insulations of undisturbed, and almost unmixed outliers of the older peoples. Spite of all the, attempts to suppress it, the fact is obvious that much of our present advanced condition in the world and our personal character, of which even our physiognomy is one of the witnesses, have been derived from this people. Nearly all our cities, especially all the greatest of them, have come down from them to us in their uninterrupted vitality, and have even brought down to us the British names by which many times daily we still call them. These are, at least, rather more tangible than the townships or villages, said to be the channel through which the much lauded Forest Institutions have been transmitted to us from North Germany. A "hatred of cities" is among the almost boasted attributes of the invaders. But are the founders—and godfathers, if you will—of London, York, and Exeter, and the others, to be pushed out of the history of which these are the most illustrious subjects; by the parasite or episodical history of those whom for politeness-sake we will call, unwelcome guests?

But the surviving cities are few, compared with the much greater number of equally great cities, only known to us by their stupendous earthwork ramparts; which, even to us, in this engineering age, are no more than objects of wonder and conjecture. Of most of these the very names have been totally lost; and the fact that their vast areas must have ever been occupied by great communities of men, has passed out of



memory, and almost out of belief.\* But this oblivion has not been the fate of the nation itself. Even a lost child, that can speak its own name, may be restored to its household and kindred: and the name of "Britain" is still known to all the world, and may claim its place in the history of the only land which answers to it. This earlier part of its family history is, however, obscure and difficult—its nomenclature crepitous and unclassical—and the grapes may be somewhat sour even to the fabricators of critical crotchets; for whom it may be a convenience to change the scene of the first act, from these hazy and mysterious traces of devastated greatness, by taking a stroll along with Tacitus through the transmarine "Forests of the North." But any such attempt to exclude so much as may be recovered of their history from its due place in that of our island, is not only an injustice to these, our joint "ancestors," but a great injury to ourselves, who have no reason to be ashamed of our intimate relation to them.

But were even the villages and townships, after all, imported from Germany? It is admitted that the institution of royalty was not brought over with the invaders, but that "war begat the king" after they arrived without him and credit seems to be claimed, for "our ancestors" of the sinister half of our pedigree, for the

\* Of the fact, that the greater examples of what are now only known as "camps," were identical in purpose and origin with those that have survived as cities, we have an actual comparative exemplification within easy reach of us. The name of "Maiden Castle," Dorset, is common to it and other similar places, and, however ancient, cannot be its original proper name, but a later descriptive one. Old Sarum, with a Christian cathedral and seven or eight parish churches, is historically known to have come to the same completion. But the identity of purpose—that they are in fact skeletons of two individuals of one species—is self evident to any one who walks around the stupendous ramparts of both. Exeter, more happy, still lives as one of our brightest cities. Its British earth ramparts, surmounted by Saxon and Norman stone walls, had similar precipitous outer ditches; filled up for modern convenience within recorded time. Its name also is its British proper name, compounded with its Roman suffix, and both fused into the Saxon form, as we now speak it. The site shews the same principle of selection as the others; and remains of the same method of defence are still visible. What has kept it alive to our time is the accidental possession, in addition to the requirements of its founders, of those of mediæval and modern life: a navigable tidal estuary, a metropolitical position, and a salubrious climate.

Here, at anyrate, are three great cities, of co-ordinate and probably contemporaneous origin: But see their various subsequent fortunes.

*invention*, in their new home, of this keystone of a system, which it is contended that they brought complete and unshaken without it, across the seas, in their ships. It is no disparagement of our German ancestors to ask the question, whether they did not adopt a framework which they found, or reconstructed upon ruins which themselves had made? Among the most specious explanations of the possession of the property of others, and sometimes a valid one; is, the taking care of it, or the repairing of it—even the repair of the injuries received by its conveyance: and one of the strongest tokens of political sagacity is to adapt, to the wants of the present and future, the upshot of the past that has grown up to its work. This seems to have been an instinct of both of the two largest of our progenitor nationalities; and it is among the happy results of it that we still live. Referring, however, to the numerous material evidences already mentioned, of great municipalities scattered over the land; the absence of a corresponding apparatus for the occupation and rule of the wide rural territory, would have been a vacuum intolerable in social nature, and to any conception of it. These claims, on the part of our indigenous ancestors, are not meant to detract from the merits of those of the foreign accession. We owe much of what we are to both: many of what, without ostentation, we may call our virtues: and among these we have derived from both that sense of justice which forbids us to withhold our acknowledgments from either; and which, it is hoped, dictates the words upon this page. What is here being written is not in detraction of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors. These have had more able defenders: whose zeal, however, has sometimes tempted them beyond the just limits of that office, into that of excessive laudators.

However this may be, the crude and undiscounted doctrine has gone out as the only one to be taught for the future; and this evolved theory is promoted with all the zeal of a religious propaganda. The earlier history of our island—not only the Celtic but even the Roman scenes upon it—an essential section of the history of the English People, is ignored, or even prohibited, in school books; as being that of nations that are positively



foreign to us. The history of our own nation is on the contrary made to begin upon the European continent, and only tolerated as beginning here with the Teutonic invasion ; and the books, in which this mutilation has been submitted to, are lauded in journals that seem to have that special purpose : whilst every phenomenon that demonstrates our present relation to the subjugated races, is not only eagerly controverted but actively stifled.

It is now intended to give some reasons for believing that the group of mountainous hills, which bounds this prospect to the south, and which covers a large portion of the southern district of Dorset, is, or has been until comparatively recent times, one of the unabsorbed insulations, above referred to, of this more ancient people ; by the help of indications that are in like manner also found, in other such hilly fastnesses naturally favouring this condition.

At one of the earlier stages of the invasion of Britain by the West Saxons, these occupied the broad valley which lies before us, now known as the Vale of Blackmore ; and during more than one hundred years it must have continued to be their most western possession. The record of this is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Their first landing had been more than fifty years still earlier (A.D. 495), at a place, called after Cerdic, the leader, "Cerdices ora," which has been variously explained as Charford, Yarmouth, and the mouth of the Hamble in Southampton Water ; but more probably was Hengistbury Head at the mouth of the Salisbury Avon : along the valley of which river they continued their fiercely contested advance, until in A.D. 552

they had taken Sarum. So that until A.D. 658, when they first\* entered Somersetshire, by piercing the other chain of hills to our right, this vale must have been at their command.

Among the short and compressed notes, of which the earlier pages are made up, of that unique national record the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, these two occur under the years 552 and 658, as almost all the history of England for those two years.

"An. DLII. Now Kynric fought with the Britons at the place that is called Searobyrig [Salisbury] and made them fly."

"An. DCLVIII. Now Kenwalch fought æt Peonnum [at Pointington, north of Sherborne,] with the Welsh and made them fly as far as the Parret."

Although above a hundred years apart, the relation of these two annals to each other is almost self-evident: and that during the century which intervened, from the year when the Britons fled to the Parret, a stage farther westward, from the chain of hills to our left, that constitutes the natural division of Dorset and Somerset, the extensive plain which lies before us was occupied by their West-Saxon invaders. This would be the case at whatever point of the western hill frontier they may have penetrated Somerset. Some have said this was by way of Penselwood. It has however been shown † that they must have entered the hill-frontier from Gillingham, about where the South-Western Railway now enters; and, having fought the Britons on Pointington Down, drove them along the valley of the Camel and the Yeo, until this river joins the Parret at Langport. During the same interval, as shown by intermediate annals of the Chronicle, they made other great advances north of Sarum; but our present concern is with this on the west. It is now intended to shew that, when they passed on to the conquest of Somerset, they left that southern hill district unsubdued: and there is reason to believe

\* That this was the *first* occupation of any part of Somerset by the invaders, has already been shown in "A Primæval British Metropolis," (Bristol, 1877, pp. 45-57). But as the assertion, that the conquest of the Gloucestershire Cotswolds, A.D. 577, included the north part of Somerset, is still persisted in; a particular examination of Dr. Guest's topographical suggestions, by which it has been said to be demonstrated, is intended on a future occasion.

† Ibid., pp. 45, et seq.

that all southern Dorset and east Devon was not conquered until long after; was perhaps never conquered in a military sense, although afterwards, no doubt, more quietly, politically assimilated or absorbed. But the exempted district, here intended to be defined, is a still smaller and more permanent one. It not only turned aside the tide of the earlier conquest, but obtained a long continued recognition of its own separate existence; remained, until comparatively recent time, like some others of the kind, a sort of Little Wales; analogous to the greater Wales, which has conspicuously retained that name and its own distinct language to this day.

Among the dedications of churches in Dorset, only three are found that are Celtic, and common to those of that nationality that are now in Devon and Cornwall; and these three are all in the southern part of Dorset. They are at Milton Abbey, Alton Pancras, and Winterborn Farringdon or St. German. If the latter is included, we must however comprehend the southern range of high downs between Dorchester and the sea; which did probably share the exemption from the early military conquest, but not the continued smaller and specially recognised exemption here to be proposed. Milton and Alton, however, have Damnonian dedications which are most certainly distinctive, and within the smaller hilly district itself.

The dedication of Milton is almost a history of itself. It is one of the compound or stratified class that have accumulated with enlargements of the sanctuary, and the addition of new altars: St. Mary, St. Michael, St. Samson, and St. Branwallader. There can be little doubt that before it became an Abbey, there was already a sanctuary here in the name of St. Samson, upon which the other names have afterwards been accumulated. Such is always found to have been the case, when one of the names of

a joint dedication is that of a primæval, national, or local saint. In most cases the local name has yielded entirely to the pressure and disappeared altogether; drowned out by the more Catholic or Hierarchal system. The time came when a Catholic or centralizing policy became more active in the church, to which these local associations were felt to be repugnant; and these provincial and national names, upon which sanctity had been rather conferred by popular estimation than by official church authority, were discouraged or actually forbidden, under the pretext that they were barbarous; as indeed they may have seemed when the intercourse with foreign churches, and the preferments of foreign clergy to English churches became more prevalent. In some cases, however, the older name was tolerated, but in a subordinate place; either as a politic concession to the veneration of the neighbours, whose offerings were still worth having, or some of whose contracts stipulated a fulfillment or payment before the proper altar or shrine of the local patron. Tavistock had the shrine of St. Rumon or Ruan: but on becoming a large monastic foundation, the dedication became St. Mary and St. Rumon. In like manner Bodmin became St. Mary and St. Petrock. The same happened to the Teutonic dedications as well as the Celtic. Thus Ely became St. Peter and St. Etheldreda: Croyland, St. Mary, St. Bartholomew, and St. Guthlac: and many others.

St. Samson was a Cornishman by birth or family, and was a kinsman of the St. Pol., Bishop of Leon in Armorican Britain, already mentioned as being among the dedications in the British part of Exeter. St. Samson was also Bishop of Dol in Armorica, where the church of Dol itself, and others in that province, and in Breton Normandy, are under the tutelage of his name. He has also a church in Guernsey, one in Scilly, and two in Cornwall. Two near the borders of Wilts and Gloucestershire, at Cricklade and at Colesbourne. Before he fled to Armorica he is reputed to have been the last British Bishop of York, who was driven thence by the pagan Angles; and in the city of York there is still a church of St. Samson, which is the only one in



either England or Wales, besides those already mentioned that are all confined to this south-western promontory.\*

This dedication of Milton Abbey is therefore a curious example of these accumulated ones. The other name, St. Branwallader, is quite unique. It is evidently a British name, but, although it is not to be found in any of the records of British saints, he is entered as a "confessor" under January 18 in two Anglo-Saxon Calendars; one of them, said to be one of the earliest English Calendars extant, appears to have been compiled at Winchester in the first half of the eleventh century. Again, in the Anglo-Saxon catalogue of the shrines in England, written about the same time, Milton Abbey is said to have had the head of St. Brangwalator, Bishop; and the arm and staff ("erice") of St. Samson, Bishop. William Worcester (A.D. 1480) was told, by John Burges a Dominican friar at Exeter, that St. Brandwellanus, a king's son and confessor, was buried at Branston, eight miles from Axminster; probably Branscombe near Sidmouth. But Branscombe has now the dedication of St. Winfred, the birth name of St. Boniface, a Saxon native of Damnonia. Serenus Cressy describes Branwallader as a "holy bishop," but "unknown;" and he is mentioned as "S. Brampalator episcopus" in Leland's abstract of another catalogue of shrines in England.

As to the added dedication of St. Michael, all that can be said is, that it is not unfrequent in Cornwall, is numerous in Devon, Somerset, Dorset, and throughout Wales; but then, as it is also abundant throughout England, choosing the greatest elevations, and in level counties, such as Lincolnshire, being satisfied with even such moderately high points as they offer, this one at Milton cannot be quoted as distinctive of race. But St. Michael is certainly a favourite Celtic dedication. In Wales it is the rival of St. Mary in frequency; and its great frequency in some parts of English England may be partly due to the continuations of

\* It is, however, just possible that the two St. Samson dedications at Colesbourne and Cricklade may in some way be reflections of his connection with York, through Archbishop Aldred's (A.D. 1061-1069) dealings with Gloucestershire benefices. Both seem to be second or subordinate benefices, as if they had been chapelries or detachments from original benefices.



it being much tolerated by the Teutonic and Catholic super-strata as exempt from the imputation of barbarism or nationality.\* Besides this, the heights which it affected are likely to have continued Welsh until later and Christian times. St. Michael is usually a short expression of "St. Michael and All Angels," and Welsh places so dedicated are often called "Llanvihangel." St. Gabriel is very uncommon, and St. Raphael almost absent, in the old dedications of England and Wales.

St. Mary, with her precedence of the others in the dedication of Milton, is of course the crowning expression of the later Catholic and monastic supremacy over those of tribal or local origin.

It can hardly be doubted that Athelstan found the Celtic dedications already associated with the spot which he chose. But it is not the mere survival of the two Celtic dedications of Milton that is its most notable circumstance. This it shares with many other outlying Celtic remains of the like nature, in those various parts of English England, that may also therefore be suspected to have been insulated nationalities. To this is to be added the well authenticated fact, that the same Athelstan, to whom is credited the policy of finally driving his British subjects from among his own Anglian and Saxon people, to beyond certain assigned frontiers; at this place he is observed to have actively encouraged the British nationality. It is recorded by various ancient authorities, and with variations that bespeak a certain amount of independence among them, that when he founded the Abbey upon what we have assumed to have been a pre-existent sanctuary of some kind, he bought and placed there many reliques of the Damnonian saints from transmarine Britain or Armorica; among which the most distinguished were the bones

\* A place on the Wiltshire Avon, about three miles north-east of Stonehenge, has the dedication St. Michael, and is called Fighelden. It would be a brilliant triumph of Professor Rhys's consonant mutation test of chronology, if the change of "Michael" into "Fighel" would shew us, how late must have been the time when the people at this place in the midst of Salisbury Plain changed themselves from Welshmen to Englishmen. It sounds in neighbouring mouths something like "Foyle," and "Foyle" is a surname there.

of the "Most Blessed Samson" himself, who was formerly Archbishop of Dol.\*

This at Milton is not the only example of Athelstan's munificence to monasteries among his Damnonian subjects. In like manner he endowed and enlarged those at St. Burien and Bodmin. He appointed the native Conan as Bishop of Cornwall; and was a benefactor to the monasteries at Exeter, at Axminster, and others in this Celtic district; for so, no doubt, to a great extent it still was. Thus, in accordance with his imperial maxim, "*Gloriosius regem facere quam regem esse*," he abandoned the long-continued fruitless endeavour to exterminate, and, contenting himself with reserving the submission of their rulers and the exaction of tribute, tolerated within certain frontiers their self-government, and promoted their institutions. It was qualified by this policy of conciliation that, as actually recorded, he appointed the Wye as the boundary of the Cambrian Welsh, and the Tamar as that of the Welsh of Damnonia: that is, of those of them who chose to continue under their own national institutions. But, although these two are historically mentioned, as being among the most prominent examples; there is reason to believe that many smaller outlying Celtic communities, that he found in a state of concentration, mostly perhaps in hilly districts, were treated by him in like manner.

The recorded, and similarly confirmed, case of Exeter: that Athelstan actually found a separate Welsh community, living on equal terms side by side with a Saxon one, within the walls; is a testimony, that, in spite of all endeavours of his predecessors to suppress it, such a social state existed down to his time. But his having expelled and driven them beyond the Tamar, although an exception to his magnanimous policy, is not a contradiction of it. We are not without examples in our own times of disorders arising from the existence, within the walls of towns or cities, of two nationalities or even of two religions; but this expulsion would not have been so easy with a more open concentration; nor so necessary where the two peoples were not

\* Will. Malmesb. de Gestis Pontt., Lib. II. 85.

forced together by such narrow and inflexible limits. This severe policy, being unnecessary for the indefinite and elastic limits of a country community, we here find the more liberal policy of the Saxon king not only predominant, but taking the form of active conciliatory encouragement.

In fact, besides being able to define Athelstan's toleration or protection of this as a Welsh district; we seem to be able, out of this very case, to reconstruct an example of his manipulation in carrying it into effect. We have already seen William Worcester's record of a tradition, which he had at Exeter from the Friar John Burges, that Brandwellan = Branwallader was buried at Branston = Branscombe, eight miles from Axminster. This Branscombe was bequeathed by King Alfred to his second son Edward the Elder, the father of Athelstan. We next find Branscombe among the formerly alienated manors, recovered for Exeter Cathedral by Bishop Leofric; and at this day it still belongs to the Dean and Chapter. Here we almost see Athelstan's hand at work in Saxonizing that broader district of East Devon and South Dorset, which as already suggested, had escaped the earlier conquest; and reducing his Welsh exception to the smaller and stricter limit above defined. In the course of this process, he includes this patrimonial manor in his munificent endowment of his monastery at Exeter; and, although leaving the name of the local British saint in the name of the place, removes his shrine to that of St. Samson at Milton, in his tolerated Welsh district; and the Church at Branscombe receives a new altar in the name which it still retains; that of the great West Saxon St. Winfred, the first Bishop of Mainz, who was still commemorated in the church at Exeter to which he had belonged.

About six miles west of Milton, among the same crest of hills, this continued British nationality is further confirmed by a second dedication, at Alton Pancras. Not that this is of tribal or non-Catholic origin, but it has manifestly become Damnonian or Cornu-British by adoption. In truth this island has received two distinct inoculations of the name, St. Pancras. A later one

than what concerns us was brought into post-British England by St. Augustine, who so dedicated the chapel, now a ruin, between the monastery of St. Augustine and the primæval church of St. Martin, at Canterbury; a church, the Roman-British origin of which is an undoubted historical fact. There is a repetition of St. Pancras in Kent, between Dover and Canterbury, at Coldred by Sibertswold.\* Two St. Pancrases in London may be attributed to Augustine's companion, Mellitus, the first Bishop of London. There are also three in Sussex; and one at Wroot in North Lincolnshire. This last is probably due to Osviu of Northumbria, to whom Pope Vitalian sent reliques of the Roman Pancras. It is most likely, however, that these two distinct importations of this name—the Roman-English of St. Augustine, and the British of Damnonia—are commemorations of two different Catholic saints, of the same name, of two different ages. That of the east of England was of course the Roman one of the fourth century; whose day, in the Roman calendar, is May 12. This patron of so many churches in West Britain, was more likely to have been the earlier one; said to have been made a Bishop and sent into Sicily by the Apostle St. Peter, and martyred at Taormine in the first century.† He does not appear in western calendars, but is found in the Greek Menologium under February 9. Another curious example of a præ-Saxon Catholic dedication seems to have puzzled Augustine and Gregory, at finding it already in Britain before their mission. Instead of their own Roman Martyr, Pope Sixtus (Aug. 6), to whom they took substantial care to appropriate it, he may have been St. Sextus, a Sicilian Martyr (Dec. 31), or St. Sixtus, an Apostle of the Gauls (Sept. 1). The preference of the British Christians for the eastern calendars is confirmed by another example; the frequent occurrence in the dedications of Cornwall, Devon, and Wales, of the martyrs SS. Julitta and Cyricius: = Syriac in Cornwall, = Cyres in Devon, = Curig in Wales.

\* *Ferrostraticæ* "Shepherdswell."

† Baronii Ann. A.D. 44, quoting Metaphrastes.



At any rate there is a distinctly separate geographical area of a St. Pancras over the south-west of England, all in the Damnonian province; which must therefore be attributed to this earlier Celtic transmission. The intimate intercourse of the Damnonian and Armorican peoples, and their apostles or missionaries needs only to be referred to. The same dedications and place names that are found in one are constantly repeated in the other; including this of S. Pancratius. The western insular ones of St. Pancras are:—Five in Devon, and, although none have been found within Cornwall, two of these are on the Tamar, north and south; and one of them is in the group of dedications within Exeter that marks the præ-Athelstan Celtic quarter of that city. One is in the Dartmoor highlands, where Celtic blood still predominates. Although another Devon one is on the border of Dorset, east of Axmouth, the only one within Dorset is this at Alton, about which we are now engaged. In Gloucestershire was an anciently extinct chapel of St. Pancras attached to Winchcombe Abbey, and another, an extinct parish now absorbed into Marshfield; but none throughout Cambrian Wales; nor elsewhere in England besides the Roman ones above recited, except “Pencrich Hall,” formerly at Oxford; which, if a “Pancras,” would of course be only a reflected provincial association, like Exeter College and Lincoln College are now.

The community of these Damnonian saints with those of Armorica, or the continental Britain of the opposite coast of the English Channel, comes very distinctly into view in a Litany, printed from a MS. of the tenth century in the *Vetera Analecta* of Mabillon, and reprinted by Messrs Haddan and Stubbs.\*

\*Councils, II., p. 81.

Among the saints suffraged in this Litany are “S. Pancrate,” “S. Samson,” “S. Branwalatre,” and “St. Jullita;” and, although not so narrowly national, “S. Germane,” the name with which we are next concerned.



There is, about ten miles southward from the two already noticed, another dedication connected with præ-Saxon Britain, and which is found not only in Cornwall, but in other parts of the island where Celtic associations survive. This is at Farringdon, or Winterborne St. German. Of this, although the church is a ruin, it has still so much vitality as to confer upon the Rev. W. Barnes the venerable dignity of a Pluralist. We must, however hesitate to include this within that compact ideal limit of the district recognised by Athelstan. True, it was fortified from the perils of the coast by the great natural rampart of the southern downs of Dorset, but is separated from the hilly group above described by the valley of the Frome and Piddle. It would also include the town or city of Dorchester, too important to have been comprehended in such a toleration or concession. No doubt it shared, with the south of Dorset and the south-east of Devon, of which the St. Pancras already mentioned near Axmouth is another witness, an exemption from the earliest western progress of the West Saxons; but cannot be included in that smaller territory of a more concentrated Welsh population that is here being defined, and which could have exacted the recognition of its national independence. At any rate, the ethnical status of this præ-Saxon dedication may be most safely left to the care of Mr. Barnes, who has the spiritual charge of it.

So much for the testimony of the dedications. But there are two other circumstantial and independent ancient witnesses, by which it is thought to be strongly confirmed. The first of these is, that among the interval annals in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, between the conquest of Sarum in 552 and the victory at Pointington in 658; is one which has involved, for the last two centuries, one of those controversies that infest the topography

of the age in question, as to the part of England in which is situated the actual place named in the record.

"An. DCXIV. Now Cynegils and Cwichehm fought on Beandune and slew two thousand and 65 Welsh."

This was read for "Byndon," Dorset, by Camden (1587); as it had ten years earlier been read by Lambarde.† But Gibson, when editing the Saxon Chronicle, says that all the copies he had used have the name with an *m* "Beamdune." He therefore prefers Bampton, Devon; and is approved in his view by R. Gough in the Additions to Camden. Out of this removal has been lately started another, to a third place. It is now said the battle could not have been at Bampton Devon, because the Saxons had not yet advanced so far to the west; therefore it must be the Bampton in Oxfordshire.

Since Gibson, several MSS., including what is said to be the oldest,\* have been brought forward, with the reading "Beandune." So also read Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, and Leland's extract from Marianus Scotus. Moreover, although it is not to be denied that "-don" and "-ton" are sometimes converted; it is believed that this does not happen so generally as the convenience of such changes has tempted interpreters to assume. The original appropriation by Camden of this name to Bindon, in Dorset, may therefore safely replace that of Gibson's even on its philological ground: and his historical argument that all the Britons had already fled for safety into more western parts of England, it is thought has here been confuted. We find them here in the very place where they were in immediate contact with Wareham, a favourite landing-place of their disturbers. These doubts, indeed, could never have been raised, if it had been yet observed that the Saxons were at this very time making their way towards Somerset by this route through Dorset; and that, as we now see, they were still flanked by an unconquered district of the

†Dict. Top. (1577), first printed 1730.

\*See Mon. H. Br., p. 306, and Pref. p. 75., and Anglo-Sax. Chron., Rolls ed., vol. I., pp. 38-39.

invaded Britons. The later historians seem too readily to interpret these records of battles as complete and permanent subjugations of the districts where they have occurred; including all the country that would be bounded by a right line extending on both sides of the place of conquest named. The slaughter of over two thousand shews a hard fight, but if it had been even a victory, it was not an extermination or subjugation of the province.

There can be no doubt that this conflict of A.D. 614 was an incident of an attempt to penetrate this yet unconquered southern part of Dorset, by a landing at Wareham, and an advance along the valley of the Piddle and the Frome. The place was no doubt Bindon Hill, now popularly known by the descriptive name of "Swinesback." It is a westward continuation or resumption of the chalk ridge of Purbeck, but completely insulated and precipitous on all sides. The table area is very large, nearly two miles in length, fortified around, and with transverse embankments. It lies due south of the Milton Abbey district, and is separated from it by the valley which leads from Wareham up to Dorchester. As Cwichelm now first appears in the Chronicle and in conjunction with Cynigils, it was probably an assault by one of them, in support of an attack by the other from the north. However, laying all speculation aside, here it is quite certain, that we have it on record, that, in the interval century, between the conquests of Sarum and of Somerset, the two nations are found together, in actual conflict in the intermediate country.

The other probable external confirmation, of the two above promised, is another ancient document which may or not relate to this very district. But whether it does or not, it certainly contains a contemporaneous picture of such a community, and positively demonstrates the existence of the social condition that we have endeavoured to exemplify.

A very learned writer,\* who has been a pioneer of the sources of English history for later writers, has by some of these been recommended "to be used with care," and to be "read with caution."† This, as we shall see, is very good advice; but may be extended to most of the later writers about these early times, and not only to Sir F. Palgrave, who was a most learned, original, ingenious, and interesting writer. He has been followed with more than equal steps; although others of his followers are far behind him. At the risk of being reminded of the latest [Amen.] demise of a Sovereign Queen, it may here be said that the more recent work, known as "The History of the Norman Conquest of England," by E. A. Freeman, D.C.L., &c., if not the greatest book of the present generation, is one of not more than the two or three greatest. Perhaps, however, in such comparisons some "law" is due to the first who treads the clods of a field never crossed before. Among the many authorities with which Sir F. Palgrave's marginal references bring a reader, most likely for the first time, acquainted; one turns up from time to time as the "Devonian Compact." To any one in this quarter of England, a strong desire is raised to know more of a document with this unheard of title. But it is only in the supplementary volume‡ that it comes to light, what the document is, and why the author has given it this new title.§

In the collections of the Anglo-Saxon Laws|| is printed a short international Code ("gerædnes") or agreement of a Witan of

\* Sir F. Palgrave, *English Commonwealth*, 1832. Also his *History of Normandy and England*, 4 vols.

† Rev. J. R. Green, both his *Histories of English People*.

‡ Engl. Comm., Proofs, ccxxxiii., and cclxiii. Also Vol. I. p. 464.

§ This method of usurping the place of long received titles of ancient texts by new ones by means of persistent unexplained iterations, leaving the reader to gradually find out for himself what is the monument really quoted, is not unfrequent among the learned of the present age. In his *Short History*, Mr. Green continually cites what he calls, and declares to be "now known" as "The English Chronicle," for what has always been known to all the rest of the world as the "Saxon" or "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," and it is only farther on in his book that he condescends so far as to admit the words "(or Anglo-Saxon)" in a bracket for the tardy help to those who are unlearned in the innovation.

|| Lambarde 1568, in *Anglo-Saxon*, with Latin translation; republished by Whelock, 1648; by Wilkins, 1721. *Public Records*, with English by Thorpe, 1840, folio, pp. 150-152.



the English and a Council of the Welsh, settled among the "Dunsæte." Lambarde, the first editor, appears to have used a manuscript no longer known; perhaps lost in the Cottonian fire. His printed edition is consequently the only authority for the Anglo-Saxon rubrics, including the general title of the Code and the titles of the nine sections or clauses. In the chief title he prints the word or name of the people concerned, with an interpolated letter *e*, "Deun-sætas," for which reading this rubric is the only authority; and although the name re-occurs three times in the body of the Code, in all three he prints it without the added letter. Besides this, in his translation of this rubric itself he renders it, as if it had been a word and not a name; "Dunsæte" = "Monticolæ" or Mountain Dwellers, disregarding the surplus letter, which therefore, if in his MS. at all, was only in the rubric.

Yet it was upon this one various reading that Sir F. Palgrave raised his theory that it was what he was justified in quoting as the "Devonian Compact;" that it was in fact a treaty between the West-Saxons and the Dumnonian Britons, locally neighbours in Devon. Perhaps, as he considered, an actual example of the social condition which William of Malmesbury describes as being what Athelstan found, and brought to an end, at Exeter. As, until quite recent times *u* and *v* have been identical letters, or used indifferently by ancient scribes one for the other, Sir F. Palgrave adopts it as an authority for an ancient form "Deunsæte," and for saying.\* "The Anglo-Saxon or English settlers" in Devon "acquired the name of Defensættas." And by this name he continually calls them; and this arbitrary and erroneous innovation, founded solely upon this doubtful authority has already taken root and been adopted into the most current modern histories of those times. Mr. Freeman often writes of "the Defnsætas and Sumorsætas," and continually uses the former, as the matter of course ancient name of Devonshire men. Although, with that constant regard for facts that are even exceptional to his own foregone judgment, which a seeker of the

\*Proofs cclxiii.



truth can well afford to satisfy; he brackets into a second edition as "something singular" that various passages that he quotes should still contain the form "*Defenascire*" along with those of "*Sumersæte*" and "*Dorsete*."†

It is not however without reason that Mr. Thorpe, in his note on the rubric‡, gives his opinion that the interpolated *e* in Lambarde's edition was "either a clerical or a typographical error." But next comes the question whether "*Dunsæte*" is merely a descriptive word, to be translated; or the proper name of a particular people. The Anglo-Saxon text is printed in the Public Records Collection of 1840 from a MS. of the tenth century, \* but there is also printed || an ancient Latin version from three MSS. of the thirteenth century, and in this it is given as a name, without translation. It was Lambarde who first translated it to "*Monticolæ*;" and he is followed by Wilkins. Mr. Thorpe in the Records Collection, transfers the name, without translation, into his English translation; but in his note he explains it to mean "Mountain dwellers."

The truth in fact is that there never was a people called "*Devnsæte*." The "*Sumorsæte*," the "*Durnsæte*," and the "*Wilsæte*," were no doubt so called from some circumstance in the conquest of them, as having been more simultaneously or broadly colonised or *settled* by the conquerors. There is, however, no original precedent for the suffix "*-sæte*" for the Devonshire settlers. It is believed, indeed, that the area of the earlier occupation of that province by the Saxons has been much over-estimated. The received theory is that the early dynastic or political advance of the Saxons westward, continued into Devon as far as the Exe; either by way of Dorset, or more northward from Somerset. Mr. Kemble says: "As the Saxon arms advanced westward, Exeter became for a time the frontier town and market between the British and the men of Wessex:" evidently meaning, as the other later authorities also appear to mean, between the West-British kingdom and the West-Saxon

† Norm. C. 2nd edn., vol. II., 564, also 158 and 315. Palgrave, cclxiii.

‡ A. S. Laws, Pub. Rec., 1840, fol. edn., p. 150.

\* p. 150

|| p. 530

kingdom: that the great political body of the West-Saxons had progressed westward so far, and occupied in their march all the country, to their right and left, from sea to sea, or nearly so. But from what is here being laid before the reader, it will be seen that the frontier of Dorset, that was contingent to Devon, still maintained its British nationality; whilst, failing the Devon-Bampton Annal above disposed of, there is no record whatever of any approach from Somerset. The Annal of 682, of Centwine's having driven the Britons to the sea, cannot apply to this, as there is no sea in the path; and William of Malmesbury calls them the "North Welsh." The earliest recorded dynastic movement, farther west than our Somerset, is that of Egbert, A.D. 813, when he harried "West Wales from eastward to westward." "West Wales" here includes all Devon, and not Cornwall only as generally supposed: thus there is some importance in the words "from eastward to westward," which they would otherwise seem to want. "Harrying" does not seem to be an operation suitable to his own subjects, even if they had been in rebellion.

Much intercourse of the two nations had already existed, independently of the compulsion of the two races into one political body under advancing kings. The frequent examples of fugitive Anglian and Saxon exiles, from wrongs of their compatriots, to the protection of the Britons, prove that the wars were rather political or dynastic than tribal. The Annals are indeed mostly of the acts of the kings or leaders, and the events they record are not always conflicts with one nation, but subjugations of both to one sovereignty. Two independent and indisputable facts—the birth of St. Winfred=Boniface, and the family of St. Sidwell—shew that, as early as A.D. 680-700, settled Saxon families were already living around Exeter; so that no doubt a considerable colony of them, or a sort of "Littus Saxonicum," had existed about the estuary of the Exe, and perhaps at other points along the country between the sea and the highlands, more than a century earlier than any inland dynastic subjugation. And in this view we are not entirely forsaken by our old allies, the church dedications, along the mountainous

frontier that divides Devon from both Dorset and Somerset. A St. Pancras, east of the mouth of the Axe, has been already named. There is also a St. Paul (St. Pol) at Church Staunton, and a St. David at Culme David, both in the valley of the Culm behind the Black-Down Hills; and north of Honiton is a hill called "St. Cyres," but with no remaining chapel. North Devon and West Somerset, or the Exmoor district, led up to by this chain, needs no consideration here. The multitude of St. Michael's in Wales has been already noticed. It is equally frequent in the English western counties, but those that are in Dorset are most crowded in the southern district, and the same increased frequency extends into the adjoining district of Devon, between the Axe and Exe.\*

Reverting to the Code; the existence of such small outlying Welsh populations, as we have been considering above, had never yet been vividly contemplated; and interpreters of such questions as that presented by the Code of the Dunsæte have been therefore narrowed, in their field of enquiry, to the two greater race divisions that are historically recorded, and that are more obviously still living beside us: Welshmen and Cornishmen; whose existence even the most zealous exterminationists have not yet been so bold as to deny. To those, therefore, who have hitherto considered this monument, and who had rejected it for the Defnanian or Damnonian tribes, there was no choice but the Cambrian or Silurian ones. A neighbouring people, called the "Wentsæte," is mentioned in the Code, as if only lately annexed by the West Saxons; of whom it is said: "Somewhile the

\*Mr. J. B. Davidson (Trans. Devonsh. Assoc., 1877) has pointed out the remarkable prevalence of "-minster," as a constituent of place-names, such as "Axminster," over a certain continuous area of South Somerset, West Dorset, and East Devon. This he attributes to King Ina; but that is most likely about 150 years too soon. But it strongly indicates a simultaneous Saxonization. It fringes the district under our consideration, and is included in what King Alfred still called the "Welsh-kin." Two of them, "Stureminster" and "Exanmynster," were bequeathed by Alfred to his younger son, Edward the Elder. Sturminster is believed to be the same place which Asser had formerly called "Leonaford," i.e., Alaunaford, the ford on the Stour or Alauna; where was the royal house in which Asser spent eight months in reading with Alfred. No doubt these "-minsters" commemorate foundations by Alfred, and that it was after his memorable hospitality to Asser that he founded Stour-Minster at Leonaford.

Wentsæte, belonged to the Dunsæte, but [now] more rightly they belong to the Westsexan." Here, two local tribes or septs are evidently spoken of. Lambarde and Wilkins, place their Wentsæte in Dimetia, roughly now comprising the diocese of St. David's. Mr. Thorpe suggests Athelstan's decreed frontier of the Wye as the point of contact of the two nationalities concerned in the Code. Although he does not mention Gwent, Monmouthshire, he seems to have been attracted by that name as the probable equivalent of Wentsæte; but "Gwent" is common to this and many other British districts. He may also have been slightly influenced by the neighbourhood of the "Magesæte," about Herefordshire; \* the only example of the suffix "-sæte," besides Dorset, Somerset, and Wilset.

The date of the Code is uncertain. Wilkins conjectures it in "tempestate Ethelradi Regis;" but whatever may be its date, it must have been far too late for the Cambrian Gwent to have adjoined any people that could possibly have been called "West Saxons." A "stream" is also mentioned in the Code, as if it was the boundary of the rights of the two peoples. Sir F. Palgrave had adopted the river Exe, in conformity with the theory which he had raised out of the recorded joint occupation of Exeter, that the course of that river had divided the two races of Saxons and Cornish-Welsh, east and west, in Devon; but it has been elsewhere shewn that in Exeter they were divided, north and south; and both, as far as that city is concerned, were on the east side of the river. Mr. Thorpe adopts the Wye as the stream suitable to his conjecture. But the nine sections of the Code are evidently not only calculated for a particular and limited locality, but the most important of them relate to strayed or stolen cattle, "over a stream," from either people. It may be a question whether both rivers, the Wye and the Exe, at the parts required, are not too large for a "stream" requiring a special legislation for stolen cattle.

\* This trace of a West-Saxon peculiarity seems to favour a belief, that Herefordshire="Ffery llwg" was the "Feathan leag" of the second advance of Ceawlin A.D. 584, instead of the Severn Valley and Cheshire, as proposed by Dr. Edwin Guest.



So much for the two proposed locations, in Damnonia and Cambria, evidently confined to the choice between these, because no other was thought of as possible, by those who only looked to written history for an example of a neighbourhood of the two nationalities sufficient for the conditions of the Code. It is thought that the survival of a smaller Wales within Dorset, now brought forward, better satisfies these conditions, whilst it requires scarcely more indulgence for the philological difficulty as to the name "Dunsæte." If what Sir F. Palgrave ventured to say upon most doubtful textual authority, we may be allowed to do by pure conjecture, fortified by external probabilities; if we may introduce a single letter and write "Durnsæte," we shall have before us a document which is not only a confirmation of what has been said, of the insulated people, from an independent consideration; but which itself is unable to be otherwise satisfactorily accounted for. It must however be at once confessed that this sort of interpolation of a letter into a proper name is, in any case whatever, one of extreme danger; and the convenient flexibility of interpretation imported by this practice, has already been much abused, and may be again, if too readily admitted. If the absence of the letter wanted was caused by an error, the error must have occurred in the prototype of every existing text, and must have occurred three several times in the course of the document.

The questions also remain: Who were their neighbours the "Wentsæte"? And what was the "stream" that seems to have divided the English from the Welsh? We have, in our own Dorset-Welsh district proposal, a choice upon both these questions: but in such matters a choice is an embarrassment and not a privilege.

Eastward of our Welsh district, is another, in which the name ingredient of "Wim-" or "Win-" appears. Several authors, struck with the repetition of the name "Wimborne," for places through the whole course of the river Allen, have reasonably concluded that "Wimbourn" had been the name of that stream. The present name "Allen" is no doubt a relic



of the Ptolemaic name "Alaunus" for the group of rivers whose outlet is Christchurch harbour, as the Salisbury [A1-] Avon is another. An English alias, "Wimbourn," must have prevailed long enough to name these places, but the ancient name has reasserted itself. The Stour, however, retains its still older Celtic alias. This district may be rather distant, from our Welsh one, for the neighbourhood of the Wentsæte implied in the Code: and without other links the hold of relationship of "Win-" and "Went-" would be somewhat infirm. The Stour also which divides them is here a considerable "stream."

Another view may be presented by the fight at "Beandun," A.D. 614, already noticed. This makes it almost certain that the invaders had landed at Wareham, and already possessed themselves of the lower country between our hill-district and Bindon Hill, through which the Frome runs to Wareham. Was this district, and the Isle of Purbeck south of it, the land of the Wentsæte which had been already annexed by the West-Saxons when the Code was enacted? and was the Frome the stream which divided them? This view has also some slightly possible philological support. The labial convertibility of *W* and *B* is well known, and this would give us "Win-" in "Bindon"; also repeated farther west in the district in the name of "Bincombe." What if the slaughter of the Britons at Bindon was a victory; and the occasion upon which the Wentsæte which had formerly belonged to the Dunsæte began to "belong to the West Saxons"? The "great ditch," mentioned by Hutchins, as "near Pokeswell quarries," and thought by Dr. Guest to have been a "Belgic ditch," may have been a part of this international arrangement. It probably extended from the well known ravine\* of Osmington Mill, across the Frome, and perhaps the Piddle; and would account for the survival into Saxon Christian times, of the Celtic St. German's dedication to the west of it. This

\*About half-a-mile west of the Osmington outlet, is a fragment of a fortress, unnoticed in Mr. Warne's Ancient Dorset. The largest part appears to have gone over the cliff into the sea. The rampart seems to have been formed of chalk brought from a spot adjoining, but the cliff itself does not appear to be chalk.

dyke would correspond with the western boundary of the present Hundred of Winfrith. May not this name "Winfrith" have been *Wentfreoth*, or the *Liberty* of the Wentsæte? It had the ancient forms, "Winfrode"\* "Winfrot" and "Winford."† The territory of the Wentsæte recorded in the Code, as having formerly belonged to the Durnsæte but now to the West-Saxons, would thus be the entire peninsula, south of the Welsh hill district; containing the Hundred of Winfrith, the Liberty of Bindon, and Purbeck Island. But a part of the low heathy country north of Wareham itself, and between it and the hill districts might also be expected to be necessarily occupied by the invaders possessed of Wareham; and this seems to be indicated by another dyke, by all writers hitherto described as one of the Belgic Dykes, commonly known as "Coombs Ditch," which, extending from the south-east escarpment of the Milton range to Lytcheat bay in the Wareham estuary, would be the north-eastern frontier of the Wentsæte. The ditch is described as being on the east of the dyke.

Looking again at these two suggestions of the actual territory of the Wentsæte, the last seems to be the most acceptable. All that it requires is; that the West-Saxon possession of it was the result of the fight at Bindon, A.D. 614, which is almost self-evident; and the small, but important, concession, that the name "Durnsæte" has, at some early time, dropped one of its letters.

On the whole: if the question had depended entirely upon the correct form of the name being "Durnsæte," we should hardly have been justified in attributing this Code to the district we have been considering. But the external probability, furnished by the parallel of the circumstances of the place to which the Code must have belonged, with this district of Welsh among the Durnsæte, may be thought to be sufficient to identify them. The question is much narrowed by the certainty that both the Code and our Welsh district are within the West-Saxon territory; and the Code was evidently intended for such a circumscribed locality as we have, by separate independent inferences, found this to

\*Domesday, both Exchequer and Exeter.

†Testa de Nevill.

have been. At all events, the Code adds to William of Malmesbury's traditional record of the Exeter case, the still stronger testimony of a contemporaneous written monument of the actual existence of some such a social condition. It is not a national statute, but of the nature of what we call a "By-law," or a sort of mere local police regulation for the protection of the property and rights of individual neighbours. The court of resort is appointed, in case of need, to be twelve men, six of each nationality.

What we have here endeavoured to realise, is only a single example of what may be called ethnical islands; of which Cornwall and Wales are as the continents. But, besides these, without doubt, a vast broad and deep social substratum; extending backwards for many centuries beyond written history, and forwards down to our own times, was underlying all the dynastic conflicts that have disturbed and striated its surface. Sometimes no doubt these have produced great local upheavals: have altered or mixed it for some depth; or in some cases actually denudated it. But invaders would have a barren conquest without taxpayers and subsidists, and tillers of the soil, and even soldiers. Even now relics of præ-Saxon and præ-Christian customs, superstitions, and traditions, not to speak of stray parts of speech, nor again to boast of nobler heritages, remain to identify the latest metamorphosed outcrop with the earliest formation. The Romans might have had some pretext for calling this people barbarous; certainly not the Saxons. Why these Saxons were far greater laggards, even in the acceptance of that great and obvious movement which was changing the face of the world before their eyes, than were their predecessors. Witness the multitude of those dispersed intellectual centres, more

lately organised into what we know as the parochial system, that had already so plentifully taken root among the Celtic people long before the Teutonic intruders came. And these were certainly very numerous among them, as may still be seen in Cornwall and Wales, where the primæval dedications of churches have been almost undisturbed. Besides this, there is nothing to shew that this wide-spread social groundwork was not imbued, from extremely remote times, with the political sort of civilisation before indicated; nor that culture itself, although a different thing, has not to a great extent sprung out of it. Literature and the Arts of Ornament or Magnificence, are the instruments of an awakened ambition to be known to posterity, and to be admired by the world; and have been superimposed or grafted upon it; but the broad and unfathomed substratum—the great storehouse of unexhibited and unhistoried human affections and cares, and joys and griefs—still lies under. Wells have been sunk into it, by such as Wordsworth, or Crabbe, or Barnes; who have brought it into rivalry with the upper culture itself. Other springs, unmixed, have risen through it by their own native energy, as Burns: and one, most abundant, has not only risen through the superincumbent culture, but has overtopped and deluged the entire surface of it, and permeated or infiltrated the whole. To himself, to his friends, and to his neighbours, though not to us, Shakespear would have been Shakespear if he had never handled a pen nor seen paper. So also there are many more saurians latent in unexplored rocks, than what are to be seen upon the walls of museums.







